1: Rattray E. G-5 (ca. 1920)1932
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NAMNAM

and intelligent man (see Fig. 79), informed me this was the constitution long before the Europeans came. 'A *Kambon-nab*', he said, 'is succeeded by any one who asks for the post, but if there are many applicants, the wishes of the people of the *teya* were taken into consideration.'

Tribute: The head Chief stated that he received yearly tribute of corn, ground-nuts, and beans, and that friends for whom he settled cases would 'thank him with a sheep'. He also received presents from the *teya* heads, whose appointment lay with him.

'When a beast is killed in hunting, the whole beast is given to the section-head of the hunter who killed it. He, in turn, sends a hind leg to the *Kambon-naba*, who sends it to the Chief, who shares it with the *Kambonnannam*.'

Work of Section-heads: Tendan': The Territorial Ruler: 'The section-heads settled adultery cases. If blood were shed on the land or any one was killed, or if rain did not fall, a cow or sheep or goat was given by the Chief to the *Tendan*' to sacrifice and purify the land. Now-a-days most Chiefs do not do so. Before you Europeans came, we Chiefs recognized the *Tendan*'. The reason others do not do so now is, that since Europeans came, many new Chiefs have been made, who know nothing about Chieftainship and only want to look after their own bellies. I myself have continued the old things. After the sowing we collect things and give to him (the *Tendan*') to sacrifice. I have not, like most Chiefs, taken away the *dawa dawa* trees from the *Tendan*'; when I am in need of some, I buy what I require. Formerly Chiefs ate out of calabashes, now they try to eat out of a basket.'

Heads of sections, of whom there are four at Nangoot (in charge of the sections known as *Zoa'bis*, *Beam-bis*, *Isaka bis*, and *Kpea-bis*),[1] report to the *Kambon-naba*, who in turn report to the Chief.

The Chief of Nangode, with whom I was very much impressed, informed me that he had continued the old system of Native Administration, although 'few other Chiefs now do so, which causes the spirits in the groves to lament'.

The Tendan': The following was told me by the *Tendan*' of Nangode (see Fig. 80): 'My ancestor owned the land. I was head *Tendan*' (*Tendan*' *kpwem*). The Europeans have given power to the Chiefs, who now own the land. My ancestors owned *dawa dawa* trees, and lost beasts, and when men shot arrows and killed any one, a cow was given to purify the land. When some one wanted to build a new house,

[1] *Bis*—children, i.e. descendants.

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'"Land, receive your beer and drink; a person wishes to farm. Permit the workers to rise up from their labours without headache and belly-ache."

'When the farmer gets each new crop, he gives the *Tenedan'* a large bundle of grain, and from time to time a large pot of beer and a guinea-fowl, that is, if his belly has been washed (if he is happy). If this farmer later leaves the land even for many years, it still belongs to him, and when he dies, that place is for his "sons", but if he gives it up entirely, and some one else wants it, the *Tenedan'* will first direct him to that man or to his family. The *Tenedan'* still "owns" the land which he has given away, because anything that is found on it still belongs to him. He, the farmer, owns the *kobo* (the right to cultivate) but he could never sell it. In olden days *dawa dawa* trees belonged to the *Tenedan'*, even if growing on a man's land, and no one dared to pick the fruit, even in the uncultivated bush, but when the tree was growing on a man's own *saman* (farm near his compound), the *Tenedan'* would share the fruit with him. Shea butter trees in the bush belonged to all the town; those on family farms to that family, those on a privately owned farm to the owner of that plot. The reason that *dawa dawa* trees belonged to the *Tenedan'* is because these trees grow up owing to some one having eaten the seed and passed it in his excrement.'

Lost Animals: 'Lost fowls, sheep, goats, cows, belonged to the *Tenedan'*. I here asked about treasure trove in the form of cowries. Expressions of horror were manifested at the idea of the finder taking these. 'No one would touch such a find; the finder would cover them up and not even let any one know; they belong to the land and the spirits.'

'In the case of beads, a *baa* (soothsayer) will probably tell the finder that they are "*Wen*" (God) and he will keep them. Any one found on the land, who had no master, belonged to the *Tenedan'*. He was a *Ten-pin* (a gift from the land). Dead elephants or antelope if it were not known who had killed them, belonged to the *Tenedan'*; if known who had wounded them, the *Tenedan'* only received a hind leg.'

Go-dan: 'We used to have a *go-dan*; he was one who had once lost a relative in the bush and when the seasonal hunting parties go hunting he is in charge of them, and receives a foreleg of each animal killed. He is really running after his lost brother, and the others are helping him. The *go-dan* would give the *Tenedan'* two forelegs, after the hunting, and some fowls before the hunting begins. The *go-dan* does

1: Rattray E, G-5 (ca. 1920)1932
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not own the land, but is in charge of the hunting party for the time that they are away in the bush.

'The *Tenedan*' would separate people fighting by spreading ashes on the land between the combatants; no man may shoot an arrow over this line. It is taboo to the land to have sexual intercourse in the bush. Any one who found people doing so will collect a heap of leaves and branches at that spot, and every one who passed there must add more. Such a place is called *pey bok* (vagina hole).

'A woman may not become a *Tenedan*.'[1] *Tenedan*' have not any distinctive dress from that of any Elder. There is no difference between the funeral custom for a *Tenedan*' and that of an Elder.'

[1] But see p. 371. [i.e. The opposite is true among the Nam Nam-Analyst.]

2: Fortes E-5 (1934-1937) 1945
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He would set out one day with some of his close agnates, fully armed, and they would try to seize by stealth and drive off as many cattle and sheep belonging to any clansman of their debtor as they could lay their hands on. Thus they could seize live-stock belonging to any Tongo man. Or if the chance presented itself they could seize live-stock belonging to people of Yamələg or Sie, and would answer protests by 'pointing to' (*paal*) their Tongo debtor. This was legitimate, but they could not legitimately seize cattle belonging to a Zoo man in settlement of a debt due to them from a Tongo man. The Zoo people would be entitled to take severe reprisals, for Zoo and Tongo have no ties of clanship. They 'marry one another's children (*ba diit taaba biis*)'. Men who were youths in those days, and who themselves took part in such adventures, usually cite these rules of *yɔk* when they are explaining the nature and ramifications of clanship ties.

The people of Zoo proper have not the same local, political, and ceremonial ties with Yamələg or Sie, and are not regarded as *sunzɔp*-by-courtesy of these two communities. But Yamələg and Sie feel more closely akin to Zoo than to their non-Namoo neighbours.

The ties between Tongo and Zoo influence their relations in innumerable ways. A census of Zoo shows that every Zoo family (including Zoo-Yiraŋ) is related to Tongo either by cognatic or by affinal ties. Zoo men show a preference in marriage for women from Tongo, Yamələg, or Sie, rather than women from other equally near settlements. Thirty-five (29 per cent.) of a large and representative sample (120) of Zoo wives are Tongo women; and if the Yamələg and Sie women are added they make up together 56 (47 per cent.) of Zoo wives. I once heard a group of elders discuss this fact, of which the people of Zoo and Tongo are well aware. A Zoo man said, 'Tongo girls like marrying us because we are such diligent farmers and always have plenty of food'. The Tongo elders denied this, and protested that they gave their daughters to Zoo rather than to men of Wakii or Tɛnzugu because of the bonds between them. 'Would we not rather', said one of them, 'marry our daughters to you, or even to Zubiuŋ, or the more distant places that used to fight on our side, than to nearer settlements which were our enemies?' Because of these ties, too, it is a grave affront for a Zoo man to abduct a Tongo man's wife or vice versa, or for a member of one clan to marry the former wife of a man of the other.

Again, the people of Zoo proper through their political head, the Chief of Biuŋ, control the great annual hunt in the Kparəg bush. They are less strict in enforcing their rights to animals which fall to the weapon of a Tongo, Yamələg, or Sie man, than to those killed by men from other places. There is greater co-operation and camaraderie between hunting parties from Zoo, Tongo, Yamələg, and Sie than between any of them and parties from other settlements. When the Chief of Biuŋ sends round to announce the hunt, his messengers go to all the other Namoo chiefs in Taleland, who pronounce a blessing on the enterprise and send back fowls as a contribution to the sacrifices that will have to be made. Among them the blessing and contribution of the Chief of Tongo are regarded as the most important.

These relations between Tongo and Zoo are always a matter of degree

2: Fortes E-5 (1934-1937) 1945
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618 and depend on the particular situation. To quote the Kparəg hunt again,
224 if a man from Zoo proper kills an animal and a Zoo-Yiraaŋ man is present, he is entitled to take (*fɔ*, lit. pull out) a foreleg; but if a Tongo man arrives on the scene first he will claim the *sunzɔ*'s foreleg; and if the only people who happen to be near are a Tɛnzugu party they will do the same. But if a number of other hunters are present, then a Zoo-Yiraaŋ man takes precedence over a Tongo, Yaməlag, or Sie man, and any of these take precedence over Talis or others. A final example of the influence of the ties and sense of solidarity holding between Zoo proper and the posterity of Mosuor may be mentioned here. Three or four generations ago Biuŋ was colonized by the Zoo family which then held the chiefship of that place. Now reduced to about a dozen homesteads, Biuŋ was a flourishing settlement two or three decades ago, to which people had flocked from all parts of Taleland and even farther afield. But the greatest number of settlers, except those from Zoo, came from Tongo. It was regarded as the natural, temporary outlet for young men who were short of land at Tongo. By contrast Tongo men rarely went to Datɔk as temporary colonists, though it is reputed to be equally if not more fertile than the lands of Biuŋ, and had much more room for settlers.

618 The lineage structure of Zoo is analogous to that of Gban. Both are examples of the commonest type of clan found in Taleland, the composite clan consisting of a single local community made up of two or more maximal lineages united by ties of clanship, either or all of which are again, as a rule, linked by similar ties of clanship to component maximal lineages of other clans.

At Sɛk, right among the Hill Talis, is another small Namoo group similar in structure to Zoo and connected with Tongo by the same fiction of kinship (*mabiirət*). Similar ties also connect Tongo with Dkoog (Winkogo), a large and thickly populated settlement comprising one maximal lineage and an attached lineage which is intercalary between it and Wakii. Like Zoo, both these groups marry the descendants of Mosuor; but distance and their separation from Tongo by a belt of Talis impede intercourse between them. Both groups have, in addition, a political tie with Tongo, in that their chiefs are appointed by the Chief of Tongo. In fact the people of Dkoog claim that their founding ancestor was a relative—some say a son—of Mosuor, who migrated to Dkoog from Tongo. Undisturbed by the contradiction between this claim and the absence of a bond of exogamy with Tongo, they explain this by their spatial and social separation from Tongo. For the people of Dkoog speak Gorni and have a greater affinity with their Gurunsi neighbours in some of their customs than with the Tallensi. This, however, they regard as irrelevant, and they staunchly uphold their connexion with Tongo as their most important tie of political and social affiliation.

Neither the people of Sɛk nor the people of Dkoog are regarded as *sunzɔp* of Tongo. On account of their political ties with Tongo and the ceremonial relations these entail, they are sometimes figuratively described as the children (*biis*) of the Chief of Tongo. They are not, for example, represented as corporate units at Tongo funerals. On the other hand, in the matter of wives, their quasi-clanship ties with Tongo are strictly

2: Fortes E-5 (1934-1937) 1945
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613 the proper structural form of the lineage around a new lineage head after
769 its temporary disturbance by the death of his predecessor. Not only do
182 all the adult members of the lineage attend, each bearing a fowl to be
782 sacrificed on behalf of himself and his segment, but representatives of other branches of the clan and very many extra-clan kin, descendants of daughters of the lineage, also attend. The pattern of the rites is the same as that of any sacrifice to the *bɔyar*, but all who participate feel them to be a specially binding sacrament. An atmosphere of great goodwill and fellowship prevails, particularly during the festive episodes of sharing out the meat and the beer.

613 In addition, the funeral of a lineage head is an event that mobilizes
764 the entire lineage structure and demonstrates the power of the religious
182 sanctions as the bulwark of his position. Special rites are performed, in many clans, to detach his social personality from the lineage shrines. And it is often in the divination sessions at the funerals of lineage heads that suppressed intra-lineage conflicts are brought into the open. The religious sanctions against intra-lineage conflict are thus set in motion and reconciliations brought about.

613 A mere catalogue of the chief privileges and responsibilities of the head of lineage of a high order is sufficient to indicate his social role as chief representative of the lineage in relation to other lineages and to the ancestors. No ceremonial or jural transaction in which the lineage is concerned as a whole can take place without the presence of the lineage head or his deputy. When the carcass of an animal slaughtered for ritual or ceremonial purposes is divided up, the best part of the portion allotted to a particular lineage is reserved for the *kpeem*. When a member of the
● [224] lineage kills an animal in the hunt, one hind leg and sometimes the skin are the perquisites of the lineage head (of the medial or maximal lineage), and the skull and horns are deposited with him. In these and similar situations the *kpeem's* privileges are regarded as a means of apprising the
[769] ancestors of the event and winning their blessings. The meat he gets, for instance, is 'set out for the ancestor spirits (*zien kpiim*)' before it is consumed.

613 Certain sacrifices to the lineage ancestors are obligatory on every man
782 of advanced years. They are both a sign of gratitude to the ancestors
769 and a symbol of the common interest of the whole lineage in the giver's welfare and possessions. Thus a man must sacrifice one of the cows he receives for his eldest daughter's bride-price to the lineage *bɔyar* of his medial lineage; and the lineage head receives a hind leg and the skin as well as other parts of the animal. Similarly if a man wishes to set up a new ancestor shrine he must first inform his lineage ancestors by means of a sacrifice to the *bɔyar*. Hence Tallensi say that one of the advantages of being the head of a medial or maximal lineage is that there is always meat in the house. But this privilege, they add, is a compensation for the responsibilities of lineage headship. Not the least of these is the *kpeem's* duty to make frequent sacrifices to the ancestors in order to preserve their goodwill towards the lineage.

613 All interlineage jural and ritual transactions take place formally
578 through the lineage heads. Thus if a man seduces the wife of a member
627

2: Fortes E-5 (1934-1937) 1945
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of another medial or maximal lineage of his own or a closely allied clan, hostility between the two units is aroused and their normal relations are thrown out of gear. But usually steps are very quickly taken to set matters right. Either the head of the wronged lineage sends to protest to the head of the seducer's lineage, and the latter, backed by the lineage elders, makes the seducer confess and agree to apologize, or else the culprit himself, aware that public opinion would reprove his action, begs the head of his nuclear lineage to get the head of their medial or maximal lineage to intercede on his behalf with the head of the wronged lineage. It is at the homestead of the latter that the rites of reconciliation are performed by representatives of the two lineages. This is typical of inter-lineage jural relations.

A woman who commits adultery exposes her husband and children to mystical dangers. Among Namoos she is haled to the homestead of the head of her husband's medial lineage and subjected to the ordeal of entering the gateway (*zanɔr*). If she confesses she may enter safely. If not, the lineage ancestors will cause her to get ill if she enters the gateway. This is a very powerful sanction of marital fidelity among women and is one reason why adultery is not very common. Tallensi sum up the role of the lineage head in the sentence, 'All our (lineage) affairs are conducted at the gateway of our lineage head's homestead (i.e. the lineage *zanɔr*—cf. p. 208) (*Ti yɛla kama maana ti kpeem yir zanɔne*)'.

In the old days the men of a medial lineage all assembled at the *kpeem's* homestead before going out to fight. There they all took part in sacrifices to the ancestors and 'ate (*di*)' protective medicine to fortify themselves against the enemy's arrows. Nowadays they do the same before setting out on a communal hunting expedition, for there are many dangers to be faced—accidental arrow wounds, fire, and wild beasts. This is the service for which the *kpeem* is rewarded when he is given a hind leg of every animal slain by the sons of the lineage.

The *kpeem's* functions are most conspicuous in relation to the wives and children of the lineage, for they stand for the greatest common interest of the lineages. It is the reproductive powers of the wives and the existence of children that secure the perpetuation of the lineage and the immortality of the ancestors. The handling of a woman who commits adultery illustrates this. Similarly the lineage elders must be informed of, and the lineage head give his formal consent to, the re-marriage of a widow of any member of the lineage. A widow is in theory entitled to reject a husband chosen for her by her late husband's nuclear lineage and to choose any member of his clan of the right generation. If she does this she must get the consent of the head of his medial lineage and this is binding on the whole medial lineage. Her late husband's nuclear lineage cannot then object to her marrying out of that lineage.

The head of a medial or maximal lineage comes into the formalities of marriage for every member, man or woman, of the lineage, in his capacity as its chief representative in interlineage jural relations. The right to dispose of a girl in marriage is vested in her guardian the head of her nuclear lineage. It is he who receives and owns the bride-

3: Fortes E-5 (1934-1937) 1949
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other way round. These involve not individual economic or social interests but the common interests of the lineage. If a man has to answer a charge of having abducted another man's wife, or meet a demand for the payment of bride-price or the surrender of the custody of a child, his 'brothers' and 'fathers' of the same inner lineage will rally round him unanimously. For marriage affairs (*pɔɣadir ycla*) involve the common interests of the whole lineage. The observer cannot deduce from the opinions or actions of any member of the inner lineage, in such a situation, whether he is the full (*soog*) brother or the paternal (*sunzɔ*) brother, or a more distant classificatory brother or father of the main actor.

The differences of degree in the solidarity of siblings is most apparent in residential, economic, and domestic arrangements. So if one asks a man whom he lives with and he replies 'I share a homestead with my older brother (*man ni m-bier la kab kpeerɔme*'—lit. 'I and my older brother enter together'), one can be certain that the older brother referred to is not more distantly related to him than a father's half-brother's son. But the term *bier* has a different connotation in marriage affairs. For instance, Yin's son's father-in-law came one day to see Yin about the payment of his daughter's bride-price. There was a long and at moments acrimonious argument, with the intermediary (*pɔɣasama*) acting as conciliator. At length Yin said: 'I agree to your terms; but of course I must first consult my older brothers (*biernam*).' Everybody understood that what Yin meant was that he should first have to obtain the formal consent of the elders of his inner lineage.

As we have learnt before, generation differences are not reckoned beyond the limits of the inner or at most medial lineage. Beyond this range, therefore, all clanswomen are called sisters (*tap*) and all clansmen who are one's contemporaries or one's own siblings' contemporaries are described as siblings. In relation to them the pattern of sentiment and conduct that holds between true siblings only comes into action *vis-à-vis* non-clansmen, and then in a very attenuated form. It is a question chiefly of united action and mutual loyalty in the service of the corporate interests of the maximal lineage or clan. So any man will come to the assistance of a clansman in an argument or fight with a man of another clan, irrespective of the rights or wrongs of the case. This is vividly seen in hunting or fishing battues. It is a very common thing for two or three men to lay claim to having killed an animal, especially if no arrow is found embedded in the animal's flesh. Then the clansmen of the claimants rally round them and their dispute turns into a violent altercation between two or three solid phalanxes of hunters. As we have previously narrated,[1] a famous war of the old days began in this way. Similarly, market brawls occasionally arise from a man's clansmen coming to his support in an argument. The commonest

[1] Cf. *Dynamics of Clanship*, ch. xiii.

4: Fortes and Fortes E-5 (1934-1936) 1936
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consumption of mutton, and especially of goat-meat is thus considerably greater than of beef; and often a household receives an entire leg or half a carcase as its share of a sacrifice made by some one of junior status. One or two of these animals are slaughtered for sale by professional butchers in the markets every week. The markets which we knew best were all within convenient distance of the small foreign settlements of Hausa, Yoruba, and Mossi people found here and there along the motor-road, and observation showed that they were the chief customers of the butchers. But a Talena occasionally buys a little meat—from a few ounces for 3*d.*, to a leg for 9*d.* to 1*s.* He may do this when he wishes to make a special gift to the mother of a girl he is courting; or when his wife is confined and he wishes to bring her some strengthening food.

The dog, widely kept as a domestic scavenger, is also a sacrificial animal, though only in special circumstances and on particular occasions such as the New Year's Festival. It is regarded as a great delicacy. Game, greatly prized, is communally hunted with dogs throughout the dry season. This contribution to the larder of the majority, however, seems to be negligible, as game is scarce in the bush on the periphery of Tale-land, and the animals killed become almost entirely the perquisites of chiefs and elders. The carnivores, though regarded with disgust by the young men who take a warrior's pride in killing them, are considered a luxury by the old men. We once observed the division of the carcase of a hyena, shot by a youth, among the elders of his clan. The younger men spurned the animal as a 'filthy thing' because it digs up and devours corpses.

Fish (*zig*) is also prized as a delicate food, and there is always a small supply of dry fish available in the market throughout the dry, and part of the rainy season. The Tallensi fish the pools of the partially dry Volta River communally[1] in the dry season, but with poor success, as far as the average householder is concerned. As a rule fish is bought in the market, like meat, only for special purposes.

The innumerable food taboos, some differentiating the sexes, some of totemic significance, and very many varying from individual to

[1] These fishing expeditions are described in a paper by M. Fortes, 'Communal Fishing and Fishing Magic in the Northern Territories of the Gold Coast', to be published in the *J.R.A.I.*

4: Fortes and Fortes E-5 (1934-1936) 1936
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The meat, already putrescent, is nevertheless enjoyed despite its stench. Fresh eggs, being potential chickens, are never eaten; but addled eggs are much appreciated by children, who bake them in ashes. Children also eat field and domestic mice, a species of toad, and harmless snakes, all of which they shoot with miniature bows and arrows in the later months of the dry season. These things are despised by adolescents and adults who, however, appreciate bigger rodents like moles and water voles. In short, meat supplies are a matter of chance, vary greatly with the season, as will be clearer later, and though much desired, form but a small part of the bulk of food consumed.

FATS AND SEASONINGS. Fats and seasonings have a very important place in Tale cookery, and, like vegetables, are the woman's responsibility. But they are mainly market commodities and a man will frequently give his wife money to purchase them. The only fat used is shea butter (*kpaam*). It is obtainable all the year round. It is made of the nuts of the shea fruit (*kpi*) which are carefully preserved after the fruits have been eaten.

Dawa-dawa seed balls (*kpɔlug*) are made by boiling the seeds of the dawa-dawa fruits. The balls are sold at prices varying from a tenth of a penny for one the size of a large marble to threepence for one the size of a cricket ball.

The laborious processes of manufacture involved prevent many women from making their own shea-butter and dawa-dawa seed balls. Others, who can command the assistance, e.g. of daughters, often prepare enough to have a surplus for sale.

Red pepper (*nanzuuh*) is grown in small quantities by a few men for sale in the market, and much is imported. It is sold at about a halfpenny for a handful.

Rock salt (*yaarem*) is sold in the market by regular traders who fetch it from the south, a small heap (about ½lb.) for a halfpenny.

Ziem, the ash of valley grasses, and *bakaa*, the ash of early millet stalks, are prepared by the women and are stored in large baskets or calabashes for their own use and for sale. They are used as salt substitutes.

THE PRODUCTIVE CYCLE AND THE FOOD CYCLE. We have seen how the domestic organization of the Tallensi works in relation to the supply of grain and the other main raw materials of their diet. We

5: Fortes E-5 (1934-1937)1938 FE11 Tallensi FE11

857 dances one invariably sees a few small boys or girls at the tail end of the
535 line. At the beginning of the Festival season one often meets a group of children about 6–9 years old practising the dances in their play, crudely but recognizably.

857 At this stage, and till pubescence, boys spend a great deal of their
868 leisure improving their dexterity with the bow and arrow. They now
● 224 have bows like a man's but smaller, and real arrows with unbarbed
526 heads. They go about in small groups practising marksmanship—shooting at a guinea corn-stalk or a chunk of wood. Sometimes they challenge one another and shoot according to certain rules. The loser forfeits an arrow to the winner. All this is recreational play; but it has a very practical aspect, recognized by adults and children. In Taleland the bow is the symbol of manhood; and every man must know how to wield it. The long years of practice necessary to become an accomplished shot begin with the small boy's first toy bow and extend through the play of childhood and pubescence. Part of this play-practice is the hunting of small field animals and birds. To the boy it is a real hunt, demanding knowledge and alertness and yielding a favourite titbit. Yet it is play as well, being neither obligatory nor dangerous, and being mimetically derived from an adult activity. This has great educational importance. The boy in his play identifies himself with the men, accepts their practical valuation of the bow and arrow, and tries out, as it were, what it feels like to be a man in this respect. Boys often hunt thus in groups, especially when they are out herding cattle, and share the spoil, thus training themselves in co-operation and fair dealing. By the age of 11–12 boys begin to accompany their fathers or elder brothers to real hunts, though they remain onlookers for the most part, whose principal task is to help carrying home anything killed. Not till adolescence will they be allowed to use barbed and poisoned arrows; but quasi-playful hunting thus shades over into the real activity for which it is a preparation.

857 Imaginative play is rich and frequent during this period, though its
153 themes appear to be few. Family life, the principal economic activities, and domestic ritual supply the mimetic content. Sometimes children are entirely preoccupied with such play for hours at a time; often it is interwoven with practical activities or appears as a resonance of practical activities in which the children co-operate.